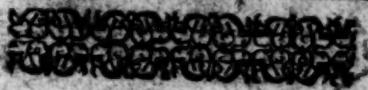




A
REMONSTRANCE
CONCERNING THE
PRESENT TROUBLES FROM THE
MEETING OF THE ESTAEES OF
the Kingdome of SCOTLAND,
April 16. unto the Parliament
of ENGLAND.



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WHEN we look unto the Records of the ages past, to find out the greatest *blessings* that God hath bestowed on this I L E, wherein we live, we cannot but acknowledge, that next to the *Christian Faith* , the Union of the two Kingdomes, under one Head, doth by many degrees exceed all other that fall in the reckoning. Many *practises and policies* were set afoot by our Princes of old, to hasten this *work* : but all in vain did the plots of men strive to crosse or prevent the *counsell of God* , who had reserved for us and our *fathers* that singular *happiness* , to see that Union begun neither by a breach of *faith* , nor by blood, but as the gift of God, to fall in our hands by the ordinary gate which the Princes right sets open unto all, and the generall and common interest of both Nations did heartily receive and imbrace. With what successe this Union hath begun and continued to this day, the *peace and plenty* we have enjoyed all this time, can witnesse in part, whiles all the rest of Europe almost, round about us, hath been a *Field of blood and desolation* . What apprehension the *enemies of our Religion* had at our peaceable conjunction, and with what eye of jealousy

see the neighbour States did look upon us; and envie our hap-
 pines; the History of these times can beare record: but for the
 present, in regard of what hath passed these many yeares by-
 gone, and what we presently feel and fear, we may truly con-
 fesse to our own guilt and great dishonour, that neither Scotland
 nor England unto this day hath rightly *understood* or made use of
 this rare *bleffing of heaven*, for increasing their respect abroad, or
 securing their own safety at home; neither have the reformed
 Churches found that *comfort* and *relief* which they did expect
 from us in the day of their *distresse*, but on the contrary we have
 been made, even against our *wills*, a *brok'n reed*, a *rocke of offence*,
 and a shipwrack unto all that have sought unto us for shelter
 from the storme, and to our selves the one Nation against the
 other, a rod of correction and jealousie, in the hands of a few
 wicked and ungodly men, men of separation, who divide the
 King from his people, and the people from their King; and who
 raise up brethren against brethren, that they in the end might
 prey and make havock of all. Amongst many that have been
 authors of these evils under which the two Kingdoms have for
 a long time groaned, and belike must either now or never be
 disburthened, none deserve so justly to be challenged in the
 first place as some amongst you who call themselves Church-
 men, but have left their station to become ignorant and un-
 happy Statesmen, who have made the Church and the Tenets
 therof, an instrument of bondage to the Subject, of *liberty* to
 themselves, and of *unjust usurpation* to the Prince, whom we had
 reason to feare long agoe, by your example, and whom we find
 named as the chief instrument and object of your just feares
 of the change of Religion and government of Estate in the
 Ringdome of *England*, in that grave and solemn Remonstrance
 that was made not many yeares agoe, by the house of Com-
 mons to the Kings Majesty, if that had stopped them any
 way, your pulpits and pamphlets can beare witnesse for
 them and the rest of their crue since that time, yea how
 constant they are to these wretched ends, their attempts upon
 us, and that deep plot of obtruding the seeds of all Popish
 superstition and tyranny, upon our Kirk, in the Bookes of
 Common Prayer, and Canons, will be a strong evidence for
 them how much they have deserved of *Rome*, to make that
 Kirk which had departed farthest from her to be first in the
 return, and exemplar unto others and how much more they
 may yet deserve of them, and all the enemies of those two
 Kings.

Kingdomes, if they offer for a sacrifice in a bloudie Warre, the Religion and Liberties of both the Nations, to appease the fury of their present disappointment, and prevent the shame of their deserved fall.

Certainly the posterity will hardly beleieve (as we who have seen it cannot but wonder) how it hath come to passe, that the Subjects of Scotland (whose Union with England this day is known to be of greater force, for her assurance at home, and strength abroad, then all the alliances, *pradises*, policies, conquests your Princes have made from the beginning) should have so long petitioned their native Prince residing amongst you to do them Justice whereof he is debtor to his people, and to heare their just complaints against the usurpation of a few men, who were undermining the protestant Religion and government of the State, and to suffer them to live according to their Laws, and yet could never be heard nor answered in the point of their just desires, farre lesse will they guesse what hath been the ground of that merit and trust of one domineering Prelat in the affection of the Prince, that it should be more forcible to dissuade, then all the supplications and intercessions of so ancient and faithfull a Nation, who among all the Kingdomes of Europe have longest continued and maintained in one Line the honour of the Royall Crown, together with the preservation of their own Liberties, should have power to move. Truly for our selves when we call to mind what courage and constancie God hath given unto us since the beginning of these troubles, to stand for the maintenance of our Religion and Liberties, that we have not suffered our selves to be drawn headlong unto the servitude of souls and bodies, from which there had been no hope of Liberty for us or our posterity, and which in regard of our conjunction with you under one King, had been a violent prejudice, and of dangerous consequence for your Liberties when they come to be questioned in their own time and place, and on the other part when we remember what strange and violent wayes were taken by our adversaries to keep from the English Nation the knowledge of our affaires, and what unjust and false aspersions were laid upon all our actions and intentions, to provoke you to be actors of that revenge that was determined against us by the insolent advice of such, who now govern his Majesties Councils, and settle their own ill acquired greaves by the oppression of his obedient Subjects in their Religion and Liberties in both Kingdomes, we cannot but blesse God who armed us with an invincible patience and resolution to chew for our part,

to the uttermost of our power any Nationall breach : For ye may remember when contrary to our expectation his Majesty by all the evil counsell of those men, did march towards us with an Armie, we neglected all courtes which might advance our *humane safety*, rather then start from any jot of our *obedience*, or give any seeming distaste to our deare Brethren of *England*, and rather adventured the ruine of our own Countrey, then indangered theirs : Yea further, when we did with horrou and amazement heare those unexampled Proclamations given out against a whole Nation, who were never tainted with the least *thought of disobedience* to their Prince his *just commands*, according to the rule of their Lawes, Notwithstanding of this great *provocation*, there was nothing to be heard amongst us but vows for his Majesties *prosperity*, and hearty desires from all to spend their *blood* for the increase of his *estate*, and service of his Crown, and who abhorred then to be reduced to that *extremity*, as to arme themselves for their own *defence* and *preservation*. It will scarcely be beleevd by Strangers, by what means two Nations so near together, and so straitly tyed in all the bonds of *goodwill* and *mutuall respect*, where there was so little cause of espousing these quarrells, wherein none of the Nations were concerned or wronged by the other in their own proper *rights*, should be brought to such a posture, and near so dangerous a rupture, that would not been easily (to say no more) pieced up again in our dayes, but it was the worke of God, and it should be *wonderfull* in our eyes, who in the carriage of all this great busines, hath made every stoppe and let, casten in by the adversary, a step of advancement, to the furthering of his Cause, as is well known and acknowledged by all whom God hath *honoured* to be the least instruments in this work, who also made this a singular meane to testifie our *loyalty*, and the *sincerity* of our *hearts*, where we presented our humble and just desires unto his Majesty, and for the *honour* of the cause which we maintain, and the tender regard to the *credit* of our own Prince (although then armed against his own *people*) and for the brotherly respect unto the Nobility, and others of our neighbour Nation, intending nothing, we beleeve, but to follow the King, although really satisfying the *ambition* and *blood thirsting revenge* of a miserable Prelat. We laboured in the *treatie* to give all satisfaction on our part that could be required of moit *loyall* Subjects, and sensible of our Kings honour (oure enemies being judges) even to our own apparent disadvantage, for we delivered all

places into his Majesties hands, which were desired, in testimony of our *obedience*, and although they might have been in our hands, pledges of assurance for performance of these Articles that were agreed to be granted in the following Assembly and Parliament; and now contrary to our expectation are turned for Engines of *terror*, and Fetters of *slavery* to frustrate us from obtaining the benefit of that *capitulation*. Notwithstanding of all breach of *promise* we cannot but profess according to our tender respect to our Prince, wherein we are inwardly grieved for the dishonour that is done to his Majesty by the bad instruments that are about him, that neither we were then over-reached; nor do we yet repent upon our part for that great trust and confidence we reposed upon his Majesty, for we did then remember that we were dealing with our Prince, with whom as we should not strive for appurtenances, when the maine was granted, so we might rest assured, that if he could not be brought in his own mind to judge aright how farre he had been misled against us his own people, who had given such an ample testimony of our trust, and of the interest we should have in his favour above all other, but still continue to pursue any advantages to our prejudices: we did not otherwise think but when ever he had a minde to breake, he could never want all grounded pretence, to alledge against us; and it was fittest for us rather to hazard the disadvantage, and commit the successe to God what ever prejudice we should suffer; for if the word of a King, which should be the Oracle of *truth* to his people, and the faith of *promises* and *contracts* under hand and seale, which is the ground-work of trust in all humane society, and is sacred and inviolable amongst Infidels and Turks, may not justly challenge for us the performance of the Articles of the Treaty upon his Majesties part, then may we truly think that nothing we could have framed or desired then, would have been for our safety of any avail unto us, as nothing had done us good or succeeded according to our minde in all these things we have condescended unto (wherunto we were not obliged by any duty or respect whatsoever, otherwise then that we might not be defrauded of the full and reall performance of the Articles of *agreement*) but on the contrary it doth evidently appeare by all that hath past, that there hath been no desire nor meaning of *peace* in the hearts and minds of our adversaries unto this day; for all the businesse of the *capitulation* hath been taken by them as a cloak to cover their more cunning and crafty designs.

designes, hoping thereby to weaken us in time by their wicked policies, whom they could not then overcome by open force : making us a thow to dissolve all Forces on either side that they might lay the Foundation of a more durable warre, by setting strong Garrisons on the Border, receiving the strong holds of the Kingdome to be kepted after that condition they were in before these troubles began, and presently preparing them for nests of violence to the chief parts of the Kingdome : Calling forth by his Majesties letters a great number of our chief men under weak pretences of businesse (when all the matters of the *great* had been ended with a few of that number) unto *Barnwick*, and when some of them came, keeping matters in the clouds untill the rest were come, and sending them back again like stales to biting in their fellows, and when this did not hold, laying then plots deep and a farre off to entrap some of our principall men, as God hath wonderfully discovered since, and will more and more to the confusion of these who have been authors and abettors to such base assassins. And which hath been the master-piece of their subull device : suffering the Assembly to goe on and determine all matters of the Kirk that had been in question. The Commissioner in the Kings name consenting to all the Acts that passed, promising also to ratifie them all in the Parliament that was presently to follow, plotting hereby that what they gave with the one hand, they would take away with the other, for this seeming of settling matters in the Assembly, and withholding the civill sanction of the Parliament for their being and exiltance in the Common-wealth, as it would make them really of no effect, so it did gain a colour and pretext to that designe they did most intend : that the next rupture, to which they were preparing, should not be for matters of Religion which were all settled in the Assembly, as they did alledge, but for other civill differences in the Common-wealth, and truly in all appearance the matters of the Kirk were settled in that Assembly, with the consent of the Commissioner, but that wise men began to doubt of the *sincerity* of the work, when they found him by his after declarations and explanations digging a posterue to escape and make way for his after denvall of what had been concluded. And in these rearmes the Parliament did begin, and hath continued not to settle the affairs of the Kirk as was promised, and was certainly expected by us : but to bring in a precedent of servitude (which neither we nor our Fathers were acquainted with) and

fair hath been broken off and adjourned, by his Majesties own
 authority, without consent of the Estates, which is directly
 against the Laws and practises of this Kingdome, and contrary
 to the Articles of *agreement*: And although our predecesours
 took another course, yet we came onely with *supplications* and
prayers, and to shew our invincible obedience unto his Majesty,
 sent up our Commissioners to *London*, who were rejected, and
 never seen nor heard, and yet hoping with this unexampled
patience to overcome the malice of our adversaries, we send up
 again our Commissioners with *propositions* that were so *just*, as
 that they contained nothing but what was before granted unto
 us, under his Majesties hand and seal, nor could receive any
 denyall from a *pious* and *just* Prince, as being all comprehended
 in this. And which had been the summe and subject of all our
supplications, protestations, informations, declarations, from the be-
 ginning, namely, that the Fundamentall Laws of the King-
 dome, which had been violated, and the Religion which was
 manifestly infringed, might in a free Assembly and Parliament
 be again confirmed, and the unworthy authors legally questio-
 ned, and which had been more expressly set down in the Ar-
 ticles of *pacification*, that as there according to the tenor of the
 Articles of *agreement*, all matters civill were to be judged by
 Parliaments, and all Ecclesiasticall matters by the assemblies of
 the Kirk: And that as the Assembly promised by his Majesty
 had been granted and had concluded the differences of the
 Kirk, so his Majesty would not delay or deny the conclusion of
 the Parliament, for ratifying the acts of this Assembly, and
 settling other differences of the Common-wealth, as was fully
 agreed in that Treatie at the Kings Camp, yet these *propositions*
 and desires being so necessarie and vitall unto this Kingdome
 could find no access unto the eares of the gracious King, by
 reason of the powerfull diversion of the Archbishop of *Canter-
 bury*, and Deputie of *Ireland*, who (strengthened with the high
 and mighty Faction of Papists neare his Majesty) onely side in
 all matters of *spirituall* and *temporall* affairs, and makes the ne-
 cessity of their service to his Majesty appear in being the only
fit instruments (under the pretext of *vindicating* his Majesties
honour) to oppresse both the just liberties of his free Subjects,
 and the true reformed Religion in all his Kingdomes. In
 which devilish designe, we have great cause to say they are far
 advanced, if the granting of a free Assembly and Parliament to
 us at this time, which hath been the ground of all our just de-

fires from the beginning, and the conclusion of the Treaty this last yeare, as the onely mean to cure all the evils of Kirk and State, and settle the peace and welfare of both Kingdomes. Prove in the end, as it appeareth this day, like the Council of Trent to the Christian Kirk, which was appointed for *reforming* the abuse therof, yet through the ambition and covetousnesse of Kirk-men and the miserable jealousies of the Princes of the time, who minded more their private end and interest then the cause of *Christ* and his Kirk, was found in effect the active engine and instrument to establish and settle the tyranny of the Pope and his Clergie: wherfore the greater and more lively are our apprehensions of danger at this time, that all these crooked and crosse plots, interchecking one another, in denying a Parliament to us, where it was promised upon the *honour* of a King, and for the *safety* of two such Nations, in granting it unto you, where it was not expected, for the reasons that all wise men cannot but remember, and in forcing one upon *Ireland*, where none is desired: Giving out Commissions to destroy us before we can apprehend any other or new guiltinesse, but that we have been constant suiters for the conclusion of the Parliament, and the fulfilling of the Articles of the treaty, raising our Parliament contrary to the Laws, and the expresse Articles of the *agreement*; inforcing Garisons upon us, that they might force us to a necessary denyall of such unreasonable demands, and to a necessity to provide for our selves: that all these, we know, are done and devised to pick a quarrel, and to be the ground of a false and wyre drawn Remonstrance against us, and now by the particular instigation of these men we named before, a mighty army is preparing, and an utter ruine threatened to our Religion and Countrey. Lest in regard of these premisses, our silence in so necessary a time should argue a neglect of our duty to God and our King, the *safety* and *honour* of our Countrey, the *peace* and *welfare* of both the Nations, what so nearly trenches to the prejudice and hazard of all these, cannot be longer forborne: Therfore we professe before the *Christian world*, and to our dear brethren of *England*, especially the *representative* Body of the Kingdome, now happily conveyed in both the Houses of *Parliament*, whom it most concerns, that we cannot otherwise judge and esteem, but that all these Councils that have been given of late by these intemperate Counsellors, who direct the course of all affaires, do not onely proceed from such persons as to serve their own ends under colour

colour of advancing his Majesties Prerogative, doe weaken Royall power, and bring the Kingdomes unto confusion, but that they truly are first hammered in *Spain* and in the *Conclaves*, and put into the hand of their cunning Artisans among you, who have ever been a viperous brood, which with tooth and naile, have assayed to rent the bowels of their own mother, yea who never sooner learned to obey the Roman Church as their mother, but as soon they acknowledged the Catholick King for their Father, and their own King for an usurper, if they think him to be an Heretick: So that we are perswaded that neither the invincible Armado of the *eighty eight*, nor the Gunpowder plot, nor any other Royall Navie from thence, like unto that which came the other yeare upon your coast, (the which ye had the more reason to suspect that it came so unlooked for and at so unseasonable a time) needs to be attempted any more for the ruine of this Ile, but onely that they be careful (as we doubt not they are) that the fire of this civil warre which hath been so long smoking may be once kindled, and that they be ready under-hand to adde fiewell to the flame, wherein they will not be wanting, especially where every thing is so near that can furnish matter, and all is farre off that can help to extingwish the same, when it is once begun, yea, which is worse for us all, when it is apparent, that it cannot be settled without great hazard even of them that may seem to overcome in the end: And although that we may justly suspect that this calling of you together at this time by their suggestion, who have raised this fire of civil discord in this famous Isle without your consent or advice, be rather to perswade you to bring oyle then water to quench the flame, so that in the heat of these broyles you may be induced to contribute to the overthrow of your best friends, while they avenge themselves of their enemies: Notwithstanding of this, we hope that it will not be displeasing unto all good men in these honourable Assemblies of both houses, that we with great joy of heart and freedome of spirit professe and declare, as we do this day, that all our obligations and mutuall assurances of love and brotherly kindnesse are so nearly twisted and joyned together with you in all duties toward God and Man, Prince and People, that we cannot but have the same friends and foes, either in the defence of our common safety against forraigne foes, or in the maintenance of our severall rights against inward and homebred underminers who are more dangerous, except we would depart from the

onely firme rule of our own *safety* and *preservation*. And therefore since in regard of the *situation* of this whole Isle, and the Union under one Head, we are all, as it were, one house, if it fall we shall be all buried in the ruines, we are all imbarqued in one ship, if it perish or split upon the rocks of division, hardly can we escape: Suffer us to rejoyce with you in the midst of this storme, for this first sunne-shine of *comfort* and good hope that we see you who are the true Pilots, brought to the helm: And give us leave to conjure you for the interest we have in the common *advantage* of these rich goods, our *peace*, our *liberties*, our Religion, which are all in one hold, that ye abandon not the ship of the Common-wealth in this *tempest*, although it did belong to you to have been called when the season was more calme, and yet let it be the true ground of your *comfort* and *encouragement*, that when the skie was clear, you have forewarned our great Master, of the clouds that were gathering, and although the winds were invisible then to most, yet to many of your house of Commons, and others also of all ranks: they that did blow then to gather these clouds together, were well known, and from what coast they came, and many humble desires and earnest suites have been made by you to his gracious Majesty, that he would not abandon his own and the Kingdomes *safety*, unto the pleasure of men in a voyage full of dangerous and *fearefull straits*, in the conduct of which, they had nothing but their own *ambition* and privat gain, for compasse and said. And who have thrust both Prince and people out of the safe harbour of the quiet calme unto this present storme, wherein they are to make profit of both our shipwrack, if in this strait it were not allowed to the meanest passenger to give warning of the imminent danger, we notwithstanding of our place and interest in your welfare might hold our peace: but since we have been in the first *watch*, and have indured the first and greatest *toument* of this storme, while you have been at rest, for your assurance that we cannot abandon you, or leave you alone one your turne, when you are so near to give tryall of your courage and skill, you may perceive by what hath passed, that no Assembly nor *Parliament*, no rotten Cable, and slipping Anchor of Articles and *agreements*, whereunto we had fastened our *hopes*, can be any road and harbour of *safety* unto us, so long as both our enemies sit at the Helme and govern all courses that are to be followed amongst you. — Therefore before we come to advise what are in our judgement the most
sitting

sitting means for removing of the evils of us both, gives us
 leave to touch in passing what we apprehend have been the
 concurrent causes to bring you by degrees from that height of
 happinesse, wherein sometime ye were glorious in the sight of
 Europe, to this gulf of misery and abatement wherein ye have
 fallen, and drawn us by example and imitation, that in this sad
 representation, as in a darke shade, the glorious light of your
 appearing day may be more comfortable and refreshing unto us
 both, which is the hearty wish and assured hope of your dear
 Brethren in Scotland, because of the sensible feeling of that
 great mercy of God upon themselves, who have been farther
 in the transgression, and at a lower ebbe in mind and spirit, then
 ye can well imagine before their troubles began; therefore,
 because our evils are not of yesterday, and could not have over-
 flowd the face of this Isle on a sudden, let us search up unto the
 well head and period of time, where and when they began first
 to spring and arise, when we left to fear others by reason of our
 Union, then began we to have need to look for evil from our
 selves: the subtle enemies of this Isle knowing that what was
 not to be attempted by open force, was to be undertaken and
 pursued by cunning and secret practices, took the advantage of
 the humours of men, following commonly the nature and the
 conditions of the times, did make the sursets and ease of peace
 more dangerous to the life of the Estate, then the straits and
 hazards of warre had been before, disposing the Subjects to ease
 and slavery, an inuring the Prince to follow their appetite and
 the rules of uncontrouled power: then began the publicke
 wayes of honour and reputation to be unfrequented: then the use
 of Parliaments which is the stay and strength of your Kingdom
 to be suspected, and so these eyes and eares of the Prince and
 People, the great Councel of the Land did make way peece
 and peece to the darke passages of the corner of a Cabinet,
 where flatterie, malice, envy and partialitie amongst few hands,
 disguises with false appearances without controule all that
 comes in their handling, and makes the people miserable, and
 the Prince infortunat, since they have gotten footing, Parli-
 aments have been called not to ease the grievances of the
 Subject, but to supply the necessities of the Prince, and so
 whereas they should have helped to cure, they have increas-
 ed the diseases of the ESTATE: and because there can
 be no evil humour in the Body that can master your skill,
 if you please to apply sitting remedies, and what have
 been

been formerly in practise, therefore you are made to disagree amongst your selves about the method of the cure, and when you begin to incline to an agreement your consultations are broken off, and so by these meanes the Common wealth languisheth without hope of relief, the Princes mistakes and the Peoples grief and burthens doe equally increase, and every breach of a Parliament begets a new grievance and maladie to the people, so much the more dangerous and deadly, that the Authors of these abuses) when you use not your courage and constancie to maintain that power and place which your Predecessors have put in your hands, and wherof the posterity will call you to accompt, as a right of entaile and their proper inheritance which cannot be weakened in your hands without your eternall infamie, and their endlesse losse) begin to despise you, and take courage to undermine and blow up the foundation of your once well lested Estate: bringing you in contempt with the people, for the guard of whose liberties you have so long continued, and in hatred with the Prince, for whose honour and safety it hath alwayes been, that none about him should be more powerfull, nor the Laws, and nearer him in place and affection, then you whose Councells could not be corrupted by ends; these are they who bringing you once to mind your owne things, and to be carelesse of the Publick, have taught the Princes, that all the rights and liberties of the Subject, and the maintenance of them, are doales of grace, and gifts of meere favour proceeding from the Prince, and not the true birth right of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as ther Princes shall think fit: who have taught Princes to use that maxime in a free Kingdome to wrong ends: Parliaments are in their power to begin, continue, and break them off, as they find the fruit of them good or bad, so are they to have their being, or not to be at all, thus they have done what is in them to make the Royall authority, which should be like a Sun beame shining for the comfort and light of others, turn to a Comet and blazing star, a matter of wonder and admiration for the time; and a prognostick of worse things to follow. Truly the prerogative of the Prince, which hath been kept in veneration, and as a secret untouched amongst the wisest Princes and the best times, which is that which the Laws have given him above all private men, for the common safety of us all, and cannot be used to another end, but for our good, had not suffered so much in it self, and lost of its proper lustre,

Justice, by the oft and common handling thereof, to the manifest
 prejudice of the Subjects right; and the reall weakening of the
 true Royall power, had it not falne in some of your Clergies
 hand, who to the staine of the Kirk and the bane of the Com-
 mon-wealth, have subjected all men, and all Laws, to the ap-
 petite of the Prince, of whom they have the absolute rule,
 that so under that goodly visour of his Royall power, they may
 accomplish at last that great designe of the change of the Re-
 ligion and government of the Estate which they have so long
 aimed at: whereof they cannot faile in this happy conjuncture,
 where all things promises them good successe. A Prince en-
 raged against his own native people, by their procurement, who
 will not be perswaded that they are good Subjects to him, be-
 cause they are avowed enemies to them, who have been the
 destroyers of their Religion, and the troubleers of the peace of
 the Kirk, to whom it is necessary that he forget that he is their
 naturall Prince, while he remembers that he is advanced to be
 the Monarch of the whole Ile, and with whom of necessity he
 is obliged to continue in this quarrel, that under the pretext of
 their rebellion, he may have leisure to arme, and make the one
 Kingdome a scourge to the other, while in the end they both
 become slaves, which if they refuse, he cannot eschew of force
 to bring in strangers, and use such other power as God hath
 put in his hands, by the doctrine of these good divines, to the
 establishing of the boundlesse government wherat they ayme,
 so by the joynt helpe of the Papist, who are a strong Faction
 amongst you of late, and of others, whom they call good Sub-
 jects, and are the greatest number, who while they are going
 on in any course to helpe themselves, cannot think they are
 accomptable to God or Man for any wrong they are doing to
 others, these also concurring who are of great number and of
 no small force in any state, who are content to wear fetters them-
 selves, so they may be of gold, and they have the making of
 them, or helpe therunto for others, all these meeting together,
 they cannot misse to effectuat their designes, and these are they
 who look at this time to undoe us, and hope assuredly to work
 you to their ends. And for this effect, as it appears, are ye
 called together after so many breaches and breaking up of
 Parliaments in England, whereby his Majesty had been deprived
 of the faithfull counsels and free aides of his people hereto-
 fore; and the pressuress and grievances of the Subjects daily
 more and more increased without hope of reliefe; that all
 men

men (who looked upon the train of affaires, and marked what undue courses had been taken of late, that there should be no need of their meeting, and how the number and height of offenders is increased, for whose safety it is not that *Parliaments* come in place and request again) may justly marvell to see this day, and in all likely-hood conjecture that either this *Parliament* will prove the happiest that ever was in this Isle for the good and peace of the Kingdomes, or else (which God forbid) will become the fatall engine and axletree in our enemies hand, for the overthrow of Kirk and State, turning our doubts unto despair, and our fears into a certainty of confusion. Wherefore the more need have all good men who love the truth of Religion, the honour of the King, the safety of the Kingdomes in so necessary and perillous a time to be instant with God by Fasting and Prayer, that as the beginning of your meeting together is the subject of all mens fears and hopes, good or bad, so the close may be in fruit and memory, the joy of the present age, and the blessing of posterity, whereof there is no small ground of hope at this time; For if that spirit of wisdom, courage, and true zeale for the good of Religion, and safety of King and Kingdomes do but begin as in former time to appeare in your Councils, who knoweth what recompence God is preparing for your often disappointments in that kind: the which we are moved the rather to beleieve and expect; that the powerfull hand of God hath forcibly led them who have been the authors of your evils, and actours in the mischief intended against us; against their will to call for your assistance to oppresse us: and surely we think that what Art can invent, and malice can doe, will not be wanting (even amongst some of your number) to move the rest to consider aright of all the advantages of the time, and reconceal the differences that are amongst themselves and labour to seek the ease of your own burthens when you may have them at an easie rate with small expence and paines, to increase ours, and many specious pretences will be offered, to hide the bad intentions of a few, and the ill consequences of their privat designs against the publick quiet of the Kingdomes, but certainly a thick cloud of prejudices and misrepresentations of all our businesses most assuredly be casten before your eyes, and great must that darknesse be, before so wise so advised a Judicatorie of all the choice wits in that Kingdom condescend to that resolution which in effect carrieth with it, in furthering the overthrow of our Religion and Liberties

berties, and in the buriall thereof to begin and digge a Tomb for your own to follow, and to make the end of this *Parliament* a mean that there should never be need of any hereafter. But we expect (Right Honourable) better things of you, and such as belong properly to the happinesse of this time, for the glory of *God* in the advancement of his *truth*, for the honour of the King in punishing of the wicked, for the welfare of the Kingdomes, that in our Union they may be crushed, who in our division have builped their hopes, and made this warre with your Brethren, the Trojan horse to bring in all these calamities, which a Civill warre will undoubtedly inforce upon this Ile, and we are certainly perswaded that the singular *wisdom* and *justice* of your Honourable Court, which can have no other end in all their Counsell, but the service of his Majesty, and the safety of his Kingdomes (which cannot be separated in any consideration whatsoever) will judge otherwise of the state of our affairs, and affoord us better measure then we have found as yet at the hands of these men, who as they have been the Authors of our evil, and of that corruption that was creeping in, in Kirk and State, so have both you and we suffered much more by them, and have greater reason to complain of the inconvenience and mischief of the remedie that they have applied since, then of the disease it selfe: In vain doe they think to cover their wicked designs with the bare pretext of their zeale and affection to his Majesties greatnes and dignity, seeing it tends to the ruine and destruction of his *faithfull* Subjects, whose *riches* is his *treasure*, whose *quiet* is his *glory*, whose *hearts* and *affections* are his *strong garisons* that cannot be overcome, and whose *prosperity* is the *happines* of his *Crown*, and miserable and wretched are the effects of that power, which produceth nothing but weaknes to the Prince, and *calamity* to his Subjects, and in vain do we expect that *God* will blesse in our age what he hath cursed in all ages before. Let us look unto the Records of former ages, and we shall ever find, that there is not any thing that doth so much move the wrath of *God*, as to see his worship and Churches profaned, and to fall into the hands of these who have sold themselves to the world, and are devoted to the Temporall service of the Prince: where ever it hath been practised, it is a certain demonstration of the alteration and change of an Estate, and of their miseries and disgrace who abuse it licentiously, their affaires alwayes declining even unto their end. We need not put you in mind of the *scourges*

and hot contests of your best Princes, and of greatest spirit, with your Archbishops at home, to keep down that Papacie they claymed to themselves amongst you, and to suffer them to be Kings beside them, which could not be granted but at their discretion: they that look to the dangers of this time, and who they are that be the Authors of this mischief intended, may easily perceive, that if all the Subjects of the two Kingdomes could be moved to undergoe that burthen the Bishop of *Canterbury* and his followers would put upon us, and could be perswaded in Conscience, that we were bound to obey these spirituall Fathers in all their commands, we should soon see they would alledge some other ground for their aspiring greatnesse, then the zeale of his Majesties service and honour, and the Princes that are to follow would find, that all their paines was for themselves, and to establish their own tyranny over Prince and People. Or, are there any so ignorant and wilfully blind to think, that all that spight and malice they carry to the Covenant of *Scotland*, is, because that it hath weakened the Kings power, and made his Majestie appeare so in the sight of his enemies? If this were true, then would the Pope and the King of *Spain* give many millions that the like were in *England* and *Ireland*: they need not dissemble, we know where it pricks them, they see the hand of God in it against their unjust usurpation and worldly pomp, and they feare, that as they have found it a wall of brasie to the Subjects of *Scotland* against the fury of their malice, when they could have no protection, neither in their Laws, nor in their Prince, in whose saving favour they may claim speciall interest, so it may prove by example dangerous to them elsewhere, and at once put an end to all these plots and designs they have to overthrow the reformed Religion: And this is the cause they charge it and us with many crimes, to plant the hatred of us and that cause in the hearts of others, which is already ingraven in theirs, but we are assured the equitie, justice, and wisdom of your Court will be farre from thinking this a sufficient ground of quarrell betwixt the two Nations, because we demand to enjoy the benefit of our Laws, and the exercise of our Religion, if this be a cause that any of your Nation should come to assaile us, or any part of the power of that Kingdome should be employed to that use, you would not have taken it in ill part or think we have done you wrong, if the like course had been taken by us when there were any contests and dispute betwixt his Majestie

Majestie and you in your Parliaments for the rights of the Subject : But as we have alwayes wished you good successe unto your Parliaments, so can we not think that the paines we have taken to maintain our own rights, can be grievances unto you, or of evill example to weaken your estate, or move you to destroy us. Princes when they are misled by evill counsell, may easily begin warre at their pleasure, but since the Subjects blood must determine the controversie, it were necessary that they who have so great a part of the hazard, should also know their quarrel. And since civill warre and homebred division, as inward diseases are more hard to cure then these that are without, we are tyed in all respects to seek to prevent them before they come. And whereas by all that hath passed, we may perceive that these who are chief actors in these troubles, seek by all means to have us engaged, the more should our care be to preserve our selves by their disappointment, and by a seasonable remedy, provide for the safety of our selves and posterity. The readiest meane for the present that can come in our consideration in this, that as when the treatie of the Union was intended, but did not take effect, the two Parliaments did sit, and did appoint their Commissioners to treat thereanent (with expresse reservation of their own Lawes and Liberties) and to report their proceedings back againe to them that sent them, so now when the two Nations are ready to be plunged in a bloody warre, to the overthrow of the Liberties of both. Our soules desires, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint the like or any other meane whereby the Parliaments may sit freely, and without feare of force, and by their Commissioners appoint time and place, where by their scanning the equity or inquiry of our demands may be fully weighed, that we may no longer suffer by false and artificiall relations, but they be notoriously known as they are, and their fraud and hypocrisie discovered (if there be any) for we shunne no tryall which is not inconsistent with a free and independent Kingdome, and which the Kingdome of *England* would choose in the like case of the quarrelling of their Lawes and Liberties, the King being resident amongst us : for which end if his Majesties forces may be discharged, and his further Levies suspended, we will most gladly disband, and leave off any that we are preparing for our own necessary and just defence, which otherwise we cannot doe without our own apparent ruine, neither can the Parliament sit with any security in either Kingdome, if they see a Sword drawn over

their heads, and this we kow the *Parliament of England* in their wilddome will think very reasonable, and the least that can be granted, and will joyne with us in this *petition* for their own clearing before *God* and the world, that they have not taken in hand to subdue us by armes, before they have convinced us and made known to all true Christians and honest men, for what cause, and upon how great reason.

If this be denied us, as what may we not expect in this kind, but that the conduct of this affaire will be answerable to the first undertaking: And as this plot hath been set on foot for the benefit of strangers, so it will be continued to the weakening of both the Kingdomes, the overthrow of our Religion, and civill liberties, to the uttermost of their power. So we (that the close of this discourse may bring in a short view all that hath been touched before) cannot but begin with this, that it is just with *God* to make us feel the sad effects of civill discord, who have not made the right use of our long enjoyed peace, and that we suffer in the danger and hazard of the cure, who have so long by our tollerance and permission strengthened that ill humour, which is now ready to master the life both of Kirk and State. You are called together who are the great Physicians of that State, it is not unfitting for the present occasion to put you in minde of an old tale that belongeth unto your Art: *Philorimus* a Physician in *Greece*, made this answer to one who offered his finger to dresse, by whose face, look and breath, he knew he had an Impostume in his Lungs, *my friend* (saith he) *is it not fit time to busie your selfe about your nailes*: The time was not long since when the greatest question was, whether the Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, or the Bill of the Subjects right should be first moved in your House; the times are farre changed, the case much altered, before you judge of any matters now, or condemn others, you cannot but look whether your selyes be free, and what right you have: For if the maintenance of our Religion, and the Liberties of the Kingdome, be a ground of a quarrell betwixt too Nations that are so nearly joyned, and if it be judged so in that Honourable Court, we cannot see how you can condemn us and acquit your selves; For it was your glory to be the faithfull guardians of the Subjects right, it cannot but blemish your reputation to be found now the overthrowers of your Brethrens liberties. If all this motion of a warre with *Scotland* were truly perceived to be a conception of *Spain* or *Rome*, we do not doubt but for your
own

own interest you would be carefull to strangle this monster in the very first birth; but if you take it for a ready meane to ease your own distressed estate, and that by wronging us you can better your condition. And although we know the conduct of your Councils had ever more honourable and honest grounds, yet let us take it as it may be propounded to you: can the benefit that is offered to you countervail your losse? We need not bring it nearer; the example is but of yesterday, and cannot be out of your sight. All the Provinces and Princes of France, envied the good estate of the Protestants, the priviledges of their Chambers, and the benefit of the Edicts they enjoyed, every one did outrunne another to contribute to their ruine, and to endeer themselves by so doing, to these that had the managing of all these affaires; with what successe, they know this day, and all that looks upon them, seeth what defence they have left themselves against the regiments of the guards. We writ not this as doubting your wisdom and circumspection in a businesse of this nature, that so neare concerns your selves, but since the malice of our adversaries hath prevailed so farre upon our gracious King, that he forgets the affliction of his people, whiles he gives way unto their endlesse malice, who seek by all meanes to cut asunder that knot of our obedience, whereby we are tyed in Conscience of our duty to his Majesty, to the observance of the Laws: and which is the sure Foundation of his Majesties greatnesse, and the Union of the Kingdomes, and which hath holden fast against all the violence of time in so many ages past, and against the force of all adversaries whatsoever to the Royall Crown, the which the more we labour to preserve, and fence, the more they seek to undoe, and to put in the place thereof a chaine of violence and force.

We beseech you therefore, right honourable and dear Brethren, now convened in both houses of *Parliament*, that according to your place and station, you will heare from our selves the true representation of our pressing grievances, and because a linke of that chain cannot but approach you also, if it take hold on us: we intreat you to divert in time our gracious King from runing headlong unto these violent courses, which cannot but produce in the end lamentable effects both for Prince and People. And since we have just cause of feare, that what hath been begun without your consent, will also be followed contrary to your advise, although we think nothing more properly doth belong unto the justice of that high Court then

to provide, that they who have been drawers of his Majesty in this action, so dangerous for himself, and so desperate for the Kingdomes should not passe away unquestioned and unpunished. And nothing could be further from our expectation then that the Council of *England* should conclude a warre against us, upon the relation of one man (brought upon the stage of purpose to act that malicious part) without your consent : wherby it is apparent, that these our adversaries have come to that height of insolencie, to let all the Subjects see that they have taken to themselves a liberty to throw down the Laws of the Kingdom, and laid a necessity upon us his Majesties own people, as it were to choose their leasure and attend untill they have power, and come and worke our overthrow by Sea and Land, and that without a warning going before : So now we understand that a restraint is put upon our Commissioners ; Some of them being put in the hands of Sheriffes, some of Justices of peace at *London*, Contrary to our expectation, for who expecting this would either have send or gone in that Commission : Contrary to the Law of Nations, for we are two diverse Nations and Kingdomes, and they were sent from a Parliament promised and called by his Majesty, and warranted by his Majesty, to repaire to his presence, and to shew the reasons of our demands. Contrary to the very foundation of our present Treaty, for a Committee was appointed, legally by the authority of the Parliament, and necessarily, for keeping correspondence with our Commissioners, and to receive from them his Majesties answers (that we wonder any man should be so absurd as to suggest to his Majesty, that it is an unlawfull or presumptuous Committee, or that they have taken upon them the government of the Town of *Edinburgh*) And that for a long time past, no word or writ commeth from them, and we are put out of hope to heare from them hereafter ; That we can neither know whether there was any want in their propositions and reasons, or whether there was any thing to be supplied by us for a full satisfaction, and contrary to the deservings of our Commissioners : for nothing is pretended to have escaped them which might have deserved this captivitie : And as for the present condition of safetie of the Earle of *Southesk*, and Sir *Lewes Stewart* at *Edinburgh*, it can be no true ground there of, his Majesty being fully informed by their own Letters, how that harmlesse accident of their surprisall came on a sud dain by the unexpected follie and rash-

haste of the Governour of the Castle, threatening presently upon their dispatch, to discharge all his Ordinance against the Town: And to ring (as he was pleased to speak) an uncouth peale of bells in their eares, and (we may truly adde) by their own precipitation, and too great haste to speed themselves to the Ports for escaping the common danger: The multitude not without their own grounds, conceived that the arresting of them might be a defence to themselves, or at least a delay of the Governours furie. But no sooner were they arrested by the People, but they were rescued by order from the Magistrate, and courteously used by such of the Nobilitie and Gentrie as were in the Town. Since that time no violence hath been done against them, but they have of their own accord, and for their own safetie stayed in the Town, with such libertie as they think meet to use to repair to the Streets, Kirk, Gardens, or whither they will. And in what equity can a particular tumult of some few Commons in one City, reflex upon the persons of the Commissioners sent from the whole Parliament of the whole Nation.

But at the writing hereof we are advertised, that the matter draweth a greater deep, and that the Lord *Lowdown* is committed to the Towre, not upon the shallow pretext of safety to any arrested here, but upon his own guiltines, his hand and subscription being found at a Letter directed to the French King from certain Earles and Lords of *Scotland*, for imploring his assistance to their courses: This by our adversaries and such as had decreed our destruction before, is already exaggerated and raised to a mountaine, not onely to fall upon the Lord *Lowdown* and others whose hands are found in it, but that all former friends and all indifferent persons may stumble at our Cause, as hereby evidenced to be nothing lesse forsooth then Religion: But the Honourable Houses of Parliament, who are acquainted with the designs and malice of our enemies, and to whom our innocencie in times past cannot altogether be unknown, are more grave and wise then upon the hearing or seeing of such a Letter, to precipitate in judgement against us and our Nation before we be heard. For their satisfaction, and for vindicating our selves, we are constrained against our hearts in this our Remonstrance, to remember and represent the words of that unexempld Proclamation given at *York* April 25. 1639. otherwise never to have been resented, but buried in silence, and in studied sense lesnes, and which we doe

not attribute to the Majesty of our King, but to the base cruelty of our barbarous enemies. The words are thus :

We are forced to have recourse to a more sharp and quick way to cure their obstinancy and rebellion by the sword of justice : And therefore in that case we do proclaime all such as shall reject this our free and gracious pardon, and does not return before the said eight dayes, to that civill and dutifull obedience to be from thenceforth open Rebels and Traitors to us, our Crown and dignity, and declare all their lands and possessions, goods and geir to be forfeited to us, and our Crown, and that we shall dispose of their lands, possessions, goods and geir to our wel deserving Subjects, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who shal adhere to us, & obey our just commands. And to this purpose we discharge all vassals and tenants of any rebels, from making payment to them of any of their rents, duties, or casualties, and require them to keep the same in their hands, the one halfe whereof shall be kept for our use, the other halfe for themselves, promising also to the tenants of the said rebels, who shall leave their Masters, and assist us to the maintenance of our authority, good tearmes of yeares in the estates they possesse, with the diminution of the third at least, if not more, of the duties they pay, as we shall find them to deserve by their good service and ready obedience to us : And to the vassals of such superiours as are rebels, that they shall become our immediat tenants and vassals, and hold their lands and possessions of us, and that for payment of the third part lesse duty then is contained in their present Charters, and they presently pay to their superiour, providing they adhere to us, and assist not their disloyall superiours, but leave them, and concurre with us for maintenance of our authority : And if the superiour be loyall, and the vassals and tenants refuse this our Grace, and to adhere to us, or to concurre with the said superiour in our service, we declare it shall be lease for the said superiour to expell the said vassals and tenants thus rebellious, forth of their lands and possessions. And what shall accesse to us by the forfeiture of their lands and possessions, we freely dispoise and totally resigne it to the loyall superiour, promising to concurre and assist him for effectuating hereof. And further we discharge all debtors who are addetted summes of money to any of the said rebels, to make payment to them of the summes of money addetted to them, or any part thereof : assuring our good Subjects, that they shall have retribution out of the same monyes as we shall find them to deserve : and so forth as followeth.

Although before this time we had heard from our Countrey-men abroad, that other States, Princes and Nations did wonder much that their ears being filled with Informations against us, nothing had come from us to make known unto them

them our cause, or our ease and condition: yet still hoping and patiently waiting for a gracious answer to our many humble *supplications*, we did abstaine. But our hopes being extinguished by that unexpected *Declaration*, as we took our Swords in our hands at home for our just defence, so we were thinking to send some *Informations* and *Petitions* abroad, especially to the French King, wherein, we trust, no word hath escaped us, that can either procure the indignation of our owne King, or will be found contrary to the duty and loyalty of good Subjects. And that no lesse could have been said by any Nation, in so great extremity: yet this was but an imperfect motion, which died in the bud amongst our selves, and never did rise to that ripenesse to be seen of others. When we were so sore threatened, and when *execution* was coming upon us by a terrible armie, it must be laid to our charge as a fault inexcusable, and our Commissioners punished for it, that we dared so much as to intend to cry to others to *interceed* for us, when our own *supplications* could not be heard: Poore souls, we must be *beaten*, and neither *resist*, nor *complain*: It is therefore our earnest desire that every eye that seeth that innocent Letter, may with the same view look upon the Proclamation given out at that time, and compare them together: And withall, we desire to be informed what we shall doe in the like exigence now when Armies are coming against us, if it be not lawfull for us both to cry to God and to men to help us, and to *interceed* with our King for us. That Letter was written before his Majesties coming to the Camp, and was not concealed by our Noblemen, but made known to some of prime quality there: If there had been a purpose in the hearts of our enemies, that the Articles of *pacification* should have been observed, this Letter, although it had been sent and all other quarrels of this kind, had been by a law of oblivion forbidden to appear. It could not have been a ground of calling the subscribers to quarrell them after the *pacification*, but the wicked Sycophant and delatours would have been found in the transgression, and made the sacrifice. And that there be no more doubt in the minds of any good man, we have here, upon our *faith and honour*, set down the very words of our *instructions* subscribed at that time, and yet extant, which were not given, but were to be given to the Carrier, and unto the which the Letter itself doth referre: *It representeth the ancient, and strain league betwixt the two Kingdomes of France, and Scotland, often renewed, and ever inviolably*

kept, for many hundredth of yeares, whereby both Nations, have frequently upon the distresse of the one found the benefit of that mutuall amity, by ready succour and assistance of the other, which hath ever been crowned with successe, and acknowledged by interchange of Nationall kindnesse as the Chronicles of both Kingdomes, and diverse publick acts extant in the Records doe testifie.

To shew that our intentions are no wayes against Monarchiall government, but that we are most loyally disposed toward our sacred Sovereigne, whose person and authority we will maintain with our lives and fortunes: But that all our desires reaches no further then the preservation of our Religion, and Liberty of Church and Kingdome, established by the Laws and Constitutions thereof.

That the calumnies vented against us by our enemies for their own ends make no impression, because they are most manifest untruths, maliciously forged to stirre the envy and discontentment of neighbour Princes, Estates and Nations against us: whereas our whole thoughts, words, actions and proceedings are most legall and loyall, as the bearer can particularly instruct and make cleare at length.

That seeing we have many times supplicat his Majesty, and have not prevailed, therefore to intreat the King of France, to intercede and meditate with our Sovereigne, to lay down his Armies, intended and raised against us, and to suffer thin his ancient and native Kingdome to enjoy her Religion, and Liberties, in peace and freedome under his Majesties authority, albeit we be not diffident of Gods assistance whenever we shall be necessitate to our own defence, which is approved both by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations.

Our enemies, who catch all pretexts against us, may have enough here wherewith to please themselves. But when that grave and great Councell shall consider that the Letter was never sent, and nothing from France or at home shall ever be found that can prove the sending of it abroad, that it was intended upon the hearing of so harsh a Proclamation, and before the pacification, wherein it ought to have been buried, and that it was accompanied with such Instructions, as none but malice it selfe can censure: for no threats from England, nor preparations in view, can cast us upon resolutions of intertaining forraigne confederations, in such sort as may set up a partition wall betwixt the two Kingdomes: Therefore we trust they shall finde no more ground of pleasing our enemies, and of grieving us in this, then in our other proceedings; which we earnestly desire to be impartially examined by them.

Now

Now against this high and extreame insolencie of our adversaries, which swelleth every day to a greater bignesse and exulceration, and is to breake out imperiously at their pleasure. Although in obedience to the Law of God and nature, we be thinking upon our preparations for safety and defence, and for obtaining our often presented humble and just desires, yet nothing but extreame necessity which hath no Law, shall enforce us to go beyond the bounds of *petition* and *defiance*, and when that extremities shall come (which God in his mercy to both Kingdomes prevent) we trust our carriage shall refute the slanders and reproaches of our enemies; that we are not seeking our selves and our own ends: but with the assistance of all in *England*, who tender their own *happinesse* and ours, to *petition* his Majesty the more powerfully, for receiving right *information*, and for submitting both all differences, and all those wicked Counsellors, who have shaken the foundations of the Kirk, State, and the Kings Throne, unto the judgement and censure of a free Parliament, by which we hope the Gospell of *Christ* shall be enlarged, both the Kingdomes freed from danger, and our dread Sovereigne made more great and glorious, then any of his Predecessors, which, as it is the end, so it is the unteigned Prayers of us all.

F I N I S.

